

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00533 211406Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----106773 211407Z /53

O P 211235Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7664
INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 0533

EXDIS

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

USUN FOR AMB YOUNG

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, RH, US, UK
SUBJ: RHODESIA: BRITISH SUGGESTIONS OF APPROACHES TO NKOMO
AND KAUNDA

REF: LONDON 2828, 2829; LUSAKA 0522

1. WE ARE CONCERNED WITH THE TWO BRITISH SUGGESTIONS
CONTAINED REF LONDON TELS THAT WE APPROACH NKOMO AND
THAT THE BRITISH TALK TO KAUNDA ABOUT NKOMO'S JOINING
THE INTERNAL SETTLEMEN(. SUCH AN APPROACH MAY BE WORTH
CONSIDERING FOR A LATER D
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00533 211406Z

TE. HOWEVER, WE ARE CONVINCED
THAT THIS IS NEITHER THE TIME NOR THE WAY TO DO IT AND
THAT THE KIND OF APPROACHES SUGGESTED WOULD HAVE LITTLE
EFFECT EXCEPT TO LESSEN OUR INFLUENCE AND INCREASE CRITICISM
OF OUR POSITION.

2. APPROACHES OF THE KIND SSUGGESTED COULD BE INTERPRETED

BY KAUNDA AND NKOMO IN THREE WAYS:

(A) THAT IT IS OUR ASSESSMENT THAT A MOVE BY NKOMO TO JOIN THE SALISBURY SETTLEMENT IS IN HIS INTEREST;

(B) THAT WE ARE WARNING THE TWO OF THEM THAT US AND UK POLICY IS CHANGING TO SUPPORT A SALISBURY SOLUTION OVER THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS, OR

(C) THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO OFFER NKOMO SOMETHING NEW IN RETURN FOR SUCH A MOVE.

3. (A) AS WE POINTED OUT IN REF LUSAKA TEL PARA 3, WE SEE NO ADVANTAGE FROM NKOMO'S POINT OF VIEW TO HIS JOINING THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AS IT SEEMS TO BE SHAPING UP IN SALISBURY. THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL (AAP) OFFERS HIM IMPARTIAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD UNDER BRITISH AND UN SUPERVISION AS OPPOSED TO THE ARRANGEMENT UNDER THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT OF THE SMITH ADMINISTRATION WHICH HE ASSUMES IS BIASED AGAINST HIM. THE AAP ALSO OFFERS HIM THE PROMISE OF A ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY "BASED ON THE LIBERATION FORCES" WHICH HE WOULD NOT GET FROM THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. TO GO BACK TO RHODESIA AT THIS STAGE, HE WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO BREAK WITH MUGABE, WHICH WOULD COST HIM SOME INTERNAL ZIMBABWEAN AS WELL AS FRONTLINE SUPPORT. UNLESS WE (OR SMITH) WERE TO OFFER SOME MAJOR REWARD (C
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 00533 211406Z

BELOW) NKOMO WOULD ONLY OPT FOR SUCH A COURSE OF ACTION IF HE THOUGHT THE ALTERNATIVE WAS BEING COMPLETELY FROZEN OUT. IN FACT, THE OPPOSITE IS THE CASE. HE PROBABLY BELIEVES THAT WITH THE GENEROUS OFFERS OF SUPPORT FROM THE SOVIETS, EAST EUROPEANS AND CUBANS, BACKED BY ZAMBIA, THAT HE CAN PREVAIL. THUS HE HAS SHOWN HIMSELF UNWILLING EVEN TO MAKE THE MUCH LESS DEMANDING SACRIFICES REQUIRED BY THE AAP. WE CONCLUDE THAT NKOMO WOULD LAUGH AT ANY SUGGESTION THAT IT WAS IN HIS INTEREST TO JOIN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES.

4. (B) NKOMO OR KAUNDA MIGHT ASSUME THAT AN APPROACH SHOULD BE INTERPRETED AS AN INDICATION THAT WE WERE ABANDONING THE AAP IN FAVOR OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND THAT NKOMO WOULD HAVE TO LOOK FORWARD TO LESSENING DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT FROM US. WE BELIEVE HE WOULD BE HIGHLY INCENSED BY SUCH AN INDICATION OF CHANGED POLICY BUT THAT IT WOULD NOT CAUSE HIM TO CHANGE COURSE. HE WOULD CONDEMN THE WEST, THOUGH NOT BREAK OFF CONTACT WITH ITS REPS OR CEASE HIS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT WHATEVER HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WAS OFFERED. WHOMEVER WE APPROACH, WE COULD EXPECT THEREAFTER AN INCREASING LEVEL OF CRITICISM FROM THE FRONTLINE AND

NIGERIA. UNLESS THE APPROACH WERE SUCCESSFUL IN GETTING NKOMO TO SWITCH, THE CRITICISM COULD REACH A HIGH LEVEL AND UNDO MUCH OF THE IMPROVEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THIS PART OF THE WORLD OVER THE LAST YEAR.

5. (C) NKOMO MIGHT SEEK SOME KIND OF ASSURANCE FROM US THAT HE WOULD BENEFIT BY A MOE TO JOIN THE INTERNAL OPTION. WOULD HALF THE BLACK SEATS IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT BE RESERVED FOR HIM? (EVEN THEN THE DEAL WOULD NOT BE AS GOOD AS UNDER THE AAP.) HE IS LIKELY TO BE INCREDULOUS OF ANY SUGGESTION FROM US THAT DID NOT INCLUDE SOME BENEFIT WHICH IS NOT OTHERWISE EVIDENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 LUSAKA 00533 211406Z

6. THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF A BRITISH APPROACH TO KAUNDA AT THE MOMENT SEEM TO US PARTICULARLY INOPPORTUNE. A NEW BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER IS DUE TO ARRIVE IN LUSAKA TUESDAY THE 22ND, THUS AN APPROACH TO KAUNDA WOULD EITHER HAVE TO BE MADE BY THE CHARGE OR A BRAND NEW HIGH COMMISSIONER WHO WILL NOT YET, OR ONLY JUST, HAVE PRESENTED HIS CREDENTIALS. SUCH AN APPROACH, IN OUR VIEW, WOULD MAKE EVEN LESS SENSE THAN OTHERWISE. IT WOULD SIMPLY BE A THROWAWAY WHICH WOULD ANGER KAUNDA AND MAKE A SERIOUS APPROACH IN SOME OTHER WAY AT SOME OTHER TIME MORE DIFFICULT.

7. IN OUR VIEW, THIS IS NOT THE TIME FOR APPROACHES OF THE KIND SUGGESTED. WE NEED TO HAVE A BETTER IDEA OF JUST WHAT IS BEING PROPOSED IN SALISBURY, NOT ONLY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION, BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY FOR THE TRANSITION PERIOD. THE IMPACT OF WHAT IS HAPPENING NEEDS TO HAVE MORE TIME TO BE FELT BY THE PF AND THE FL AND WE NEED TO HAVE A BETTER IDEA OF HOW WE PROPOSE TO BACK SUCH A SUGGESTION. IN SUM, WE BELIEVE THAT AN APPROACH TO EITHER KAUNDA OR NKOMO SUGGESTING SOME KIND OF BASIC CHANGE IN HIS POSITION NEEDS TO BE CAREFULLY THOUGHT THROUGH AND BACKED BY SOME RATHER SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN OUR APPROACH TO THE RHODESIA PROBLEM. WITHOUT THAT NEITHER A BRITISH APPROACH TO KAUNDA NOR A US APPROACH TO NKOMO WOULD BE REGARDED AS SERIOUS. THEY WOULD STIMULATE DERISION AS WELL AS GROWING MISTRUST AND DISILLUSIONMENT IN US.

8. IN COUNTER-PROPOSAL, WE SUGGEST THAT WE USE DICK MOOSE'S TRIP TO SOUTHERN AFRICA AS AN OCCASION TO EXPLORE WITH NKOMO AND KAUNDA, AS WELL AS OTHERS, FUTURE DIRECTIONS. BY THAT TIME IT MAY BE CLEARER WHAT KIND OF A DEAL SMITH IS OFFERING. THE FL PRESIDENTS WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY THE NEW SITUATION PRESENTED BY THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 LUSAKA 00533 211406Z

SALISBURY PROPOSAL AND NKOMO AND MUGABE MAY HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO CONSIDER THEIR OWN POSITIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS SALISBURY AND THE AAP. WE BELIEVE, THEREFORE, THAT THE MOOSE VISIT COMES AT AN OPPORTUNE TIME AND THAT IT MIGHT SERVE TO BACK OWEN OFF OF WHAT WE CONSIDER TO BE TWO ILL-ADVISED AND ILL-CONSIDERED COURSES OF ACTION. WE NOTE ALSO THERE ARE MOVES AFOOT TO SET UP A FRONTLINE MEETING WHICH MIGHT FORTUITOUSLY TAKE PLACE DURING THE PROJECTED MOOSE VISIT, PROVIDING HIM WITH AN EXCELLENT TARGET OF OPPORTUNITY.
LOW

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENTS, DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIONS, NATIONALISTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 feb 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978LUSAKA00533
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780078-0114
Format: TEL
From: LUSAKA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780233/aaaabbtn.tel
Line Count: 185
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 180061d3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 78 LONDON 2828, 78 LUSAKA 522
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3537573
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA: BRITISH SUGGESTIONS OF APPROACHES TO NKOMO AND KAUNDA
TAGS: PDEV, PORG, PINT, RH, US, UK, (KAUNDA, KENNETH DAVID), (NKOMO, JOSHUA), (SMITH, IAN)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/180061d3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014